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AMMUNITION FOR CIVILIANS

I.
OUR JUST CAUSE
FACTS ABOUT THE WAR FOR
READY REFERENCE

ABBREVIATED AND REVISED EDITION

PREPARED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

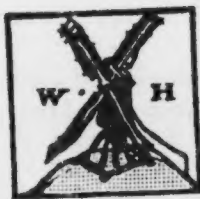
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FACTS ABOUT THE WAR

I.

WHY ARE WE AT WAR?

- (a) *Because of the "swelled head" of the German militarist classes, who have stampeded the country. The ruthless theory of these men considered war to be a blessing and the best means of advancing progress.*

"It has always been the weary, spiritless, and exhausted ages which have played with the dream of perpetual peace.

"The whole development of modern State wisdom tends to crush smaller States, and in this sense Germany has very severe tasks to face, for in the parcelling up and distribution of land outside of Europe Germany has always fallen short. And our very existence as a Great nation depends on the question whether we can become a power across the seas.

"Germany will be happy when she has received her due, and possesses the Rhine in its entirety."

(This involves the possession by her of Belgium and Holland.)

"If our Empire has the courage to follow an independent colonial policy with determination, a collision of our interests and those of England is unavoidable. It was natural and logical that the new Great Power of Central Europe had to settle accounts with all great Powers. We have settled our accounts with Austria-

G Hungary, with France, and with Russia. **The last settlement—the settlement with England—will probably be the lengthiest and most difficult.**

H. VON TREITSCHKE, for thirty years, till his death in 1896, the foremost German historical writer and publicist.

“In its final aims the Peace movement is not only as utopian, but as dangerous as Socialism.”

Privy Councillor BARON VON STENGEL, German delegate to the first Hague Conference.

It is sometimes said that it is only the statesmen of Germany that are Anti-British.

“Once during the Boer War . . . I remonstrated with a member of the Reichstag on account of his attacks on England, which did not exactly tend to make our difficult position any easier. The worthy man replied in a tone of conviction: ‘It is my right and my duty, as a member of the Reichstag, to express the feelings of the German nation. You, as a Minister, I hope, will take care that my opinions do no mischief abroad.’”

PRINCE VON BUELOW, for many years, till 1910, Imperial Chancellor, the highest office, save the Kaiser's, in the German Empire.

The theory that only a small section of Prussian opinion had been tainted with militarism has been dispelled by the action of men of science, philosophers, writers, and professors. A manifesto signed by ninety-two of the best-known men in learning and literature has been issued, from which the following is an extract:

“It is not true that the fight against our so-called militarism is not, as our enemies hypocritically declare,

a fight against our culture. Without German militarism German culture would long ago have been swept off the face of the earth.

"War is not merely a necessary element in the life of nations, but **an indispensable factor of culture**, in which a true civilized nation finds the highest expression of strength and vitality.

"The efforts directed towards the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish, but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatized as unworthy of the human race.

"It must further be remembered that every success in foreign policy, especially if obtained by a demonstration of military strength, not only heightens the power of the State in foreign affairs, but adds to the reputation of the Government at home, and thus enables it better to fulfil its moral aims and civilizing duties.

"**A pacific agreement with England is, after all, a will-o'-the-wisp** which no serious German statesman would trouble to follow. We must always keep the possibility of war with England before our eyes, and arrange our political and military plans accordingly.

"We have fought in the last great wars for our national union and our position among the Powers of *Europe*; we now must decide whether we wish to develop into and maintain a *World Empire*, and procure for German spirit and German ideas that fit recognition which has been hitherto withheld from them.

"In the first place, our political position would be considerably consolidated if we could finally get rid of the standing danger that France will attack us on a favourable occasion, so soon as we find ourselves involved in complications elsewhere. In one way or another **we**

must square our account with France if we wish for a free hand in our international policy. This is the first and foremost condition of a sound German policy, and since the hostility of France once for all cannot be removed by peaceful overtures, the matter must be settled by force of arms. France must be so completely crushed that she can never again come across our path.

"We must remain conscious in all such eventualities that we cannot, under any circumstances, avoid fighting for our position in the world, and that the all-important point is, not to postpone that war as long as possible, but to bring it on under the most favourable conditions possible."

GENERAL F. VON BERNHARDI (died in 1913), a prominent German General, high up on the General Staff, and a close friend of the Kaiser.

"When you meet the foe you will defeat him. **No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken.** Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. Just as the Huns a thousand years ago, under the leadership of Attila, gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historical tradition, so may the name of Germany become known in such a manner in China that no Chinaman will ever again dare to look askance at a German."

Address of the KAISER to the German troops leaving for Peking in July, 1900. The reference to Attila was commonly suppressed, but the rest of the quotation was circulated on postcards throughout Germany. Two days later the modern Attila preached a sermon on board the *Hohenzollern*.

Facts about the War

"Much harm has resulted from the fact that in recent years we, as well as others, have forgotten that for now just 200 years Europe has had only one steadfast and, in its interests, astonishingly tough enemy—England. . . . Not to have recognized this thoroughly at the right time has been the cause of many catastrophes in Europe. To these catastrophes belongs also this present unnatural alliance between England, France, and Russia. It would have been avoided if a clear insight had only once made known in Europe what a great common European interest exists against England, which has appropriated to herself the best and richest countries overseas. Instead of this, the old state of things has again come to pass, that the peoples of the Continent cut themselves to pieces in wars from which England solely and alone derives the advantage. . . . It lies deep in the essence of the English power-idea that it cannot bear a strong Continent, and, above all, one standing under a unified leadership. For then her Colonies would be torn from her and her income diminished."

Cologne Gazette, August 27, 1914.

(b) *Because of our plighted word to France, in virtue of which she had concentrated her fleet in the Mediterranean, and left her northern coasts defenceless, save for our aid.*

"The French fleet is now in the Mediterranean. The northern and western coasts of France are absolutely undefended. When the French fleet comes to be concentrated in the Mediterranean, there is a very different situation from what it used to be, because the friendship which grew up between the two countries had given

them a sense of security that there was nothing to be feared from us. Her coasts are absolutely undefended, her fleet is in the Mediterranean, and has been for some years concentrated there, because of the feeling of confidence and friendship which has existed between the two countries.

"My own feeling is this, that if a foreign fleet engaged in a war which France had not sought, and in which she had not been the aggressor, came down the English Channel and bombarded and battered the unprotected coasts of France, we could not stand aside and see the thing going on practically within sight of our eyes, with our arms folded, looking on dispassionately doing nothing, and I believe that would be the feeling of this country. There are times when one's own individual feeling makes one feel that if the circumstances actually did arise it would be a feeling that would spread with irresistible force throughout the land—in face of a thing happened."

SIR E. GREY, in House of Commons,
August 3.

"We have had for many years a long-standing friendship with France. . . . How far that friendship entails obligations . . . let every man look into his own heart and his own feelings and construe that obligation for himself."

SIR E. GREY, in House of Commons,
August 3.

"I am authorized to give an assurance that, if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power.

"This assurance is, of course, subject to the policy of His Majesty's Government receiving the support of Parliament."

SIR E. GREY to the French Ambassador, August 2.

(c) *Because of our obligations to Belgium.*

"Treaty between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia on the one part, and Belgium on the other. Article I., Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, His Majesty the King of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias declare that the articles hereunto annexed, and forming the tenor of the treaty concluded this day between His Majesty the King of the Belgians and His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, are considered as having the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted in the present Act, and that they are thus placed under the guarantee of their said Majesties. Extract from annex: Article VII. **Belgium, within the limits specified in Articles I., II., and IV., shall form an independent and perpetually neutral State.** It shall be bound to observe such neutrality towards all other States."

(NOTE.—Articles I., II., and IV., which are referred to in Article VII., define the provinces and territorial limits of Belgium.)

By the Conference of the Powers at the Hague in 1907, signed by Germany, a "Convention respecting the Rights

and Duties of Neutral Powers" was drawn up, of which the first two articles are as follows :

1. **The territory of neutral Powers is inviolable.**

2. Belligerents are forbidden to move across the territory of a neutral Power troops or convoys, either of munitions of war or supplies.

"The governing factor is the Treaty of 1839, but this is a treaty with a history—a history accumulated since. In 1870, when there was war between France and Germany, the question of the neutrality of Belgium arose, and various things were said. Amongst other things, **Prince Bismarck gave an assurance to Belgium that**, confirming his verbal assurance, he gave in writing a declaration which he said was superfluous in reference to the Treaty in existence—that **the German Confederation and its allies would respect the neutrality of Belgium**, it being always understood that that neutrality would be respected by the other belligerent Powers. That is valuable as a recognition in 1870 on the part of Germany of the sacredness of these treaty rights. . . . The Treaty is an old Treaty—1839. That was the view taken of it in 1870. It is one of those treaties which are founded, not only on consideration for Belgium which benefits under the Treaty, but in the interests of those who guarantee the neutrality of Belgium. The honour and interests are at least as strong to-day as they were in 1870."

SIR E. GREY, in House of Commons,
August 3, 1914.

"I telegraphed at the same time in similar terms to both Paris and Berlin, to say that it was essential for us

to know whether the French and German Governments, respectively, were prepared to undertake an engagement to respect the neutrality of Belgium. I got from the French Government this :

“The French Government are resolved to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and it would only be in the event of some other Power violating that neutrality that France might find herself under the necessity, in order to assure the defence of her security, to act otherwise. This assurance has been given several times. The President of the Republic spoke of it to the King of the Belgians, and the French Minister at Brussels has spontaneously renewed the assurance to the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs to-day.”

“From the German Government the reply was :

“The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could not possibly give an answer before consulting the Emperor and the Chancellor.”

“Sir Edward Goschen, to whom I have said it was important to have an answer soon, said he hoped the answer would not be too long delayed. The German Minister for Foreign Affairs then gave Sir Edward Goschen to understand that he rather doubted whether they could answer at all, as any reply they might give could not fail, in the event of war, to have the undesirable effect of disclosing to a certain extent part of their plan of campaign.”

SIR E. GREY, in House of Commons,
August 3.

“Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity, and **necessity knows no law!** Our troops have occupied Luxemburg, and perhaps are already on Belgian soil.

Gentlemen, that is contrary to the dictates of international law. It is true that the French Government has declared at Brussels that France is willing to respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as her opponent respects it. We knew, however, that France stood ready for the invasion. France could wait, but we could not wait. A French movement upon our flank upon the Lower Rhine might have been disastrous. So we were compelled to override the just protest of the Luxemburg and Belgian Governments. The wrong—I speak openly—that we are committing we will endeavour to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached. Anybody who is threatened, as we are threatened, and is fighting for his highest possessions can have only one thought—how he is to hack his way through!”

VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, the Imperial Chancellor to the Reichstag, on August 4.

“I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by His Majesty’s Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word—‘Neutrality’—a word which in war time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to war. . . . I protested strongly against that statement, and said that, in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter’s neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of ‘life

and death' for the honour of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could anyone have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future? The Chancellor said, '**But at what price will that compact have been kept?**' Has the British Government thought of that? I hinted to His Excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements."

British Ambassador's report of his last conversation with German Chancellor, August 4.

(d) *For the safety of ourselves and of our Empire.*

"The old century saw a German Europe. The new one shall see a German world."

Koloniale Zeitschrift, January 18, 1900.

"The trident must be in our hands."

THE KAISER.

"England can employ her regular army in a Continental war only so long as all is quiet in the Colonies. This fact brings into prominence how important it will be, should war break out, to threaten England in her colonial possessions, and especially in Egypt."

VON BERNHARDI.

"We mean to defend our colonies, and to acquire somewhere agricultural colonies. . . . In order to attain this modest aim, we want to-day a large fleet. . . . We must wish at any price that a German country, peopled with twenty to thirty million Germans, may grow up in

Southern Brazil. . . . We do not mean to press for an economic alliance with Holland, but if they are wise, if they do not want to lose their colonies one day, as Spain did, they will hasten to seek our alliance."

PROFESSOR SCHMOLLER, Berlin University,
Member of Prussian Privy Council and
Prussian Upper Chamber (lecture delivered
at Berlin, Strasburg, and Hanover).

"The possession of South Africa offers greater advantages in every respect than the possession of Southern Brazil. If we look on the map, our German colonies look very good positions for attack."

Die Grenzboten, April 15, 1897.

"England insists on being the only great commercial Power of the world, and is only willing to allow other nations the favour of owning small fragments as enclaves wedged in helplessly between her possessions. This is what we neither can nor intend to tolerate. As England cannot be expected to give way peaceably, and as her great naval power cannot be overwhelmed by a single State, the real remedy will be an alliance against her of all her rivals."

HANS DELBRÜCK, Professor of History in
Berlin, *North American Review*, January, 1900.

For further points under this heading see Section VII.

(c) *In the cause of civilization and of liberty, and of international law, which the Germans have shamelessly violated.*

German violations of international law :

1. Invasion of Belgium and of Luxemburg. See Section (c).

2. Bombardment of unfortified towns, such as Malines, Termonde, Louvain.

A correspondent telegraphs from Antwerp :

" I have returned from Malines, which has been bombarded for the third time, although it was an open town without the least defence.

" On Sunday, at 9.30 a.m., people were returning from church when a shell fell in the middle of a group, killing several persons. The remainder fled to a café, and shortly afterwards another shell exploded in the café, and several persons were wounded. The rain of shells continued at the rate of fifty an hour. The first fell on the railway-station at eight o'clock, and then others fell in the Place de la Gare and in the neighbourhood, setting fire to the station, the barracks, a cabinet-maker's factory, the establishment of the Little Sisters of the Poor, the National Stamp Manufactory, and several private houses.

" Other houses collapsed in the street, completely blocking traffic. Fort Waelhem and Wavre replied vigorously until the evening.

" The Cathedral of St. Rombaut is almost completely destroyed, and the tower is seriously injured."

Central News, Amsterdam, September 28.

On Saturday, September 2, an airship dropped four bombs on Deynze, described by Baedeker as "a small town with an old church." It is an open town of no military importance. The principal building is the hospital of the Sisters of St. Paul, which at the time flew the Red Cross flag and sheltered some 200 people, aged, sick, or orphans, with the Sisters of the Order.

The bombs wrecked the dormitory of the Sisters of Mercy, and that none were killed was nothing less than a miracle. The incident is described by an eye-witness in the *Morning Post*, September 29.

Such conduct is directly contrary to Article 25 of the Hague Convention of 1907, which was signed by Germany, and which reads: "It is forbidden to attack or to bombard by any means whatsoever unfortified towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings."

3. Levying of indemnities on cities in countries still unconquered.

Up to the present the Germans have demanded a total indemnity of more than £28,000,000 from the towns and districts they have occupied. The published demands are as follows:

Antwerp ...	...	...	...	...	£20,000,000
Brussels ...	...	...	...	...	8,000,000
Liège ...	...	...	...	...	2,000,000
Louvain ...	...	...	...	...	4,000
Province of Brabant	...	...	...	...	18,000,000
Lille ...	...	...	...	...	280,000
Amiens, Roubaix and Tourcoing, each					40,000

Smaller amounts have been asked from other towns.

This is contrary to Articles 49 and 50 of the Hague Convention of 1907, signed by Germany, which read:

Article 49.

"Money contributions upon territory occupied may be levied only for the needs of the army or of the administration of the district."

Article 50.

"No collective punishment or fine may be imposed upon any body of people because of the action of

individuals for which they could not be considered as collectively responsible."

4. Laying of mines, not to defend harbours, which is lawful, but on the high seas, and along trade routes.

This is contrary to Article 2 of Convention VIII. of the Hague (1907), by which "it is forbidden to lay automatic contact mines off the ports and coasts of the enemy, with the sole object of intercepting commercial navigation." It is true that Germany did not sign this section without reservations.

When the subject of mines was being discussed Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, the German delegate, said:

"A belligerent who lays mines assumes a very heavy responsibility towards neutrals and peaceful shipping. On that point we are all agreed. **No one will resort to such means unless for military reasons of an absolutely urgent character.** But military acts are not governed solely by principles of international law. There are other factors. Conscience, good sense, and the sentiment of duty imposed by principles of humanity will be the surest guide for the conduct of sailors, and will constitute the most effective guarantee against abuses. The officers of the German Navy, I emphatically affirm, will always fulfil in the strictest fashion the duties which emanate from the unwritten law of humanity and civilization."

On October 27 the *Manchester Commerce* (5,363 tons) was wrecked by a mine twenty miles north of Tory Island, on the Irish Coast, and her captain and thirteen of the crew drowned. Many trawlers have been lost in

the North Sea by contact with floating mines, and the existence of such mines on trade routes is against the terms of the Hague Convention, but the laying of a mine-field in the Atlantic, in a region removed from the operations of the German Fleet, is an even more open and deadly breach of Article 2.

5. Atrocities upon defenceless and unoffending civilians.

Such atrocities are of course contrary not only to the Fourth Convention of the Hague Conference of 1907, but also to the elementary dictates of humanity. They have taken place in the heat of battle in all wars, but those of Germany in the present struggle have been so numerous and systematic that attention must be called to them. The most notorious is the sack of the town of Louvain.

Louvain was a University town, containing many ancient historic buildings, a famous Library, Cathedral, and Hotel de Ville. On August 26 German troops, repulsed by Belgians, entered the town, which was already occupied by a German garrison. They afterwards declared that they were fired on by the townspeople, but the latter declared that all their arms had been given up some days before, and that in the confusion the German garrison fired on their comrades. In any case the Germans deliberately fired a greater part of the town, burning the inhabitants in their houses, and shooting others indiscriminately. Bodies of civilians lay about in the streets and squares, and of the survivors several thousand males were sent as prisoners of war to Germany.

The Bombardment of Rheims.

The storm of indignation roused by this led the German Government to make excuses. The value of these may be judged from the following specimen sent to Copenhagen from Berlin :

1. Rheims is a fortress and a French base for defence. Hence the bombardment is the fault of the French.
2. French guns were posted behind the Cathedral.
3. The white flag was hoisted on the Cathedral, but the French used one of the towers for observation.
4. The damage done is insignificant, and can easily be repaired.

The last "excuse" may be supplemented by the following from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* :

"If the German armies, in their victorious advance, are obliged to drive the enemy not only from armoured forts, but also from ancient homes of culture, we have at least the comforting certainty that the dearly bought victory will bring for the joy and glory of the human race greater and more splendid works than the towering churches of the Middle Ages, which are being needlessly endangered by the heirs of their founders."

There appeared in the same journal two days later, on September 24, an article on the destruction of Louvain from the pen of Professor F. Kluge, Professor of German Language and Literature at Freiburg University, under the title "Superfluous Sentimentality." In this article the German scholar makes light of the loss to the world of the library of Louvain University, and gives expression to the same unquestioning confidence in German genius to raise a library of greater value in its

place. The Germans have always been considered the most sentimental of all peoples, yet the Freiburg Professor writes:

"We must not allow ourselves to be infected even by genuine and true sentimentality. All the wounds that cruel war inflicts must heal again in peace."

The following letter from M. Arthur Terwagne, a brother of the Deputy of Antwerp, gives a detailed account of the fate of Dinant:

"It will be remembered that on August 15 a tremendous battle was fought in the streets of the town between the French and the Germans. The town suffered very little during this battle, only a few houses afterwards bearing signs of the bombardment, which lasted thirteen hours. During the following days the French retired on to the left bank of the Meuse. In the night of August 21 a German armoured motor-car entered Dinant by the Rue Saint-Jacques and, without the slightest provocation, began to fire on the houses in the street. A woman sleeping in her bed was killed, and her child, which was at her side, was mortally wounded. Startled by the noise of the firing, a man and his wife opened the door of their house. They were immediately done to death by Uhlans. An employee of the gasworks who was returning from his work was killed on his doorstep. The assassins—for one cannot call them soldiers—set fire to several houses before they bravely withdrew.

"But these savage acts were only the prelude. . . . On the following day large masses of troops arrived and forced open the doors of the houses and murdered everyone they found within. There was Victor Poncelet done to death in the presence of his wife and of his six children;

there were the members of the staff of the firm of Capelle murdered in cold blood. In every house a fresh crime was committed, while the women were driven from their beds and taken, half-naked, to a monastery, where they were kept for three days with hardly any food, half-dead with hunger and fear.

"Over 200 men and lads—old men of seventy-five and boys of twelve and fourteen—fathers and sons together, were driven on to the Place d'Armes. In order that the work might be carried out more quickly a machine gun was brought up. It was here that Xavier Wasseige, the manager of the Banque de la Meuse, was killed, together with his two sons, and here, too, died Camille Fisette and his little boy, aged twelve.

"The fate of the male inhabitants having thus been settled, the Germans set to work methodically on the destruction of the town, using bombs to set fire to the houses. Soon nothing but a heap of ashes remained."

Published in *Le Matin*, September 26.

"I never realized what an awful thing war is. You cannot imagine at home the horror of it. I am in a small village on the extreme left, and can see the horrible cruelty of the Germans to the inhabitants. We have got three girls in the trenches with us, who came to us for protection. One had no clothes on, having been outraged by the Germans. I have given her my shirt and divided my rations among them. In consequence I feel rather hungry, having had nothing for thirty-two hours, except some milk chocolate.

"We have been hard at the Germans all day (now 8 p.m.), and have successfully driven them back. Our men's shooting is wonderful and accurate. The Germans

collapse like ninepins under it. The slaughter is awful. . . . I started this morning with fifty men in my trench, and now have twenty-three and no non-commissioned officers. They are wonderfully cheery. I have been hit twice; one took the heel of my boot off, and one through my shoulder, which is rather sore, so I must have it dressed. . . .

"Another poor girl has just come in, having had both her breasts cut off. Luckily, I caught the Uhlan officer in the act, and with a rifle at 300 yards killed him. And now she is with us, but, poor girl, I am afraid she will die. She is very pretty, and only about nineteen, and only has her skirt on. . . ."

Letter from a British officer to his father, published in the *Times*, September 12. The name and regiment of the officer was procured by the *Times* before publication.

A common practice in both the German and Austrian armies is the taking of prominent civilians as hostages, whose lives are to be forfeited should the rest of the civilian population act, or be supposed to have acted, to the detriment of the invader. This method of punishing the innocent is a revival of medieval barbarism.

The following agreeable announcement was posted at the Belfry and the Town Hall, Tournai, on September 23:

"TO OUR FELLOW-CITIZENS.

"The military authorities have informed us that the telegraphic and telephonic communications of the German Army have been cut.

"The Army has therefore immediately seized as hostages Monsieur Louis Caty, Councillor (Prefectoral),

Monsieur Victor Maistriau, Deputy Mayor, Jean l'Honneaux, Professor at the Athénée Royale.

"The citizens are answerable with their heads as well as the hostages for the public tranquillity and security, as well as the maintenance and protection of the railways, telegraphic and telephonic communications. The authors of any attempt on these communications will be immediately put to death.

"We therefore earnestly beg our fellow-citizens to abstain from any act which could possibly be regarded as calculated to interrupt the communications mentioned.

"The lives of the hostages would certainly be sacrificed thereby.

"THE COUNCILLOR (PREFECTORAL).

"GEORGES HEUPGEN.

"THE BURGOMASTER, JEAN LESCATS.

"Mons, *September 22, 1914.*

"The Officer Commanding the lines of communication, Maubeuge—Mons.

"STEINICKE.

"Approved, Mons, *September 22, 1914.*"

Extract from Proclamation by officer in command of German forces occupying the Commune of Grivegnée, near Liège. (Issued to British papers by Official Press Bureau, September 24).

"(6) I shall select, outside the lists given me, persons who from noon on one day to noon on the next have to stay as hostages. If the relieving hostage does not appear punctually, the first hostage will be detained for another twenty-four hours in the fort. After a second twenty-four hours he may be shot if his substitute does not appear.

"(7) In the first class among hostages will be placed the priests, the burgomasters, and the members of the Administration of the communes."

On this subject the following official German statement was issued :

"The only means of preventing surprise attacks from the civil population has been to interfere with unrelenting severity, and to create examples which by their frightfulness would be a warning to the whole country."

In a telegram to the President of the United States the Kaiser said :

"My heart bleeds when I think that such measures should have become inevitable."

II.

UNANIMITY OF OPINION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

IN no other conflict, not even in the war against Napoleon, has British opinion been so unanimous. Party strife is at an end.

I. LIBERAL.

"If I am asked what we are fighting for I can reply in two sentences. In the first place, **to fulfil a solemn international obligation** . . . secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle which, in these days, when material force sometimes seems to be the dominant factor and influence in the development of mankind,

that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering Power."

MR. ASQUITH, House of Commons, August 7.

"The ultimate and not far distant aim of Germany was to crush the independence and the autonomy of the free States of Europe. First Belgium, then Holland and Switzerland—countries, like our own, imbued and sustained with the spirit of liberty—we were one after the other to be bent to the yoke, and these ambitions were fed and fostered by a body of new doctrines and new philosophy preached by professors and learned men. The free and full self-development which to these small States, to ourselves, to our great and growing Dominions over the seas, to our kinsmen across the Atlantic, is the well-spring and life-breath of national existence; that free self-development is the one capital offence in the code of those who have made force their supreme divinity and upon its altars are prepared to sacrifice both the gathered fruits and potential germs of the unfettered human spirit. I use this language advisedly. **This is not merely a material, it is also a spiritual conflict.** Upon this issue everything that contains the promise and hope that leads to emancipation and fuller liberty for the millions who make up the masses of mankind will be found sooner or later to depend."

MR. ASQUITH, Guildhall, September 4.

"The progress of the war has revealed what a terrible and immoral thing German militarism is. **It is against German militarism that we must fight.** The whole of

Western Europe would fall under it if Germany were to be successful in this war. But if, as the result of the war, the independence and integrity of the smaller European States can be secured and Western Europe liberated from the menace of German militarism—for it is not the German people but Prussian militarism which has driven Germany and Europe into this war—if that militarism can be overcome, then, indeed, there will be a brighter and a freer day for Europe, which will compensate us for the awful sacrifices that war entails."

SIR EDWARD GREY, letter to constituents, September.

"We want every penny we can raise to fight the common enemy, and our first consideration ought to be to win. That is our first consideration. Unless we do that, there will be no country for municipalities or Governments to administer. The first thing is that we should come out triumphant in this struggle, and as finance is going to play a very great part we must husband our resources. . . . Of course, if we have great victories, and smashing victories, that is all right, but then they may not come yet. We may have fluctuations, and things may last long. We are fighting a very tough enemy, who is very well prepared for the fight, and he will probably fight to the very end before he will accept the conditions upon which we can possibly make peace, if we are wise. . . . We must work as partners and work together—all parties, all sections of the people, the Government, and municipalities—until we carry the old country through to a triumphant conclusion."

MR. LLOYD GEORGE, answer to deputation of Municipal Associations, *Times*, September 9.

"I am a Radical who has always belonged—and when this war is over trust still to belong—to the pacifist school of British politicians. I confess that I was one of those who never believed that Germany wanted war with either France or this country. I knew that there were German as well as English Jingoës, but I thought that the serene good sense of the land of Kant and Goethe would prevail against the colossal vanity of the insensate megalomania of the school of Treitschke and Bernhardi.

"After perusing once more Bernhardi's 'Germany and the Next War,' which was first published in October, 1911, and considering what I once regarded its wild vapourings in the light of recent events, I have been driven reluctantly—almost mutinously—to the conclusion that the intellectual and ruling classes of Germany have for the last two generations been hoping and preparing for this devastating war. On Monday, August 3rd, I pleaded in the House of Commons that our country should remain, if in any way possible consistently with honour, neutral in the conflict. The White Paper had not then been published, nor Sir E. Goschen's dispatch, dated August 8th, giving an account of his last interview with the German Chancellor. I am now convinced that every consideration of policy and of honour, even of existence as a Great Power, compelled this country to take a hand in the war. Sir Edward Grey and the Government have saved England from a blunder which would have been worse than a crime."

LLEWELLYN WILLIAMS, M.P., *Times*, September 3.

"German civil liberties were crushed under the heel of an insolent caste. Its astonishing genius for organiza-

tion became the instrument for military efficiency, and Bismarck's schemes of State socialism were all governed by the twin purpose of making the people subservient at home and feared abroad. Even the nationalization of the railways, admirable though its results have been, was designed not as a measure of social amelioration, but as a measure of military necessity. Every ingenuity of the science of destruction has been developed with absorbing energy, and no consideration of pity or humanity has been allowed to interfere with the decrees of the god of blood and iron. That deity has no bowels of compassion. He grinds the small nations he has undertaken to protect under his iron heel and talks of a sacred treaty as 'a scrap of paper.' He strews the seas with his engines of death, regardless of what disaster they may bring to the innocent. He flings his bombs from the sky upon the sleeping city, scornful of women and children. He burns towns and villages, and slaughters the old and the weak, not in anger or in lust, but according to an iron rule. He is merciless even with his own. He flings them in close formation on certain death. They must hack their way through or die. 'Better to lose an army corps than change a plan.' It is all force—force—force—soulless and cruel and barbaric. It is divorced from all moral considerations—from mercy, from justice, from pity. **It is an idol of iron that stands to-day in a sea of blood.**

"It is this idol which Europe has to break. Until it is broken to dust there can be no peace in this world. We cannot live under the sanction of Attila and his Huns and the clank of the sword of Zabern."

A. G. GARDINER, editor of the *Daily News*.

2. UNIONIST.

"In this supreme struggle, in everything connected with it until it is brought to a triumphant close, the head of our Government must speak, not as the leader of a party, but as the mouthpiece of the nation. We are a peace-loving people, but never, I believe, in our history has the whole nation been so convinced as it is to-day that the cause for which we are fighting is righteous and just. We strove for peace by all means to the last moment, but when, in spite of our efforts, war came, we could not stand aside. The honour and the interests of Great Britain—and, believe me, they go together—alike forbade it."

MR. BONAR LAW, Guildhall, September 4.

"The Prime Minister and the Leader of the Unionist party in the House of Commons have symbolized on this platform that unity of purpose which animates the whole Empire—a unity which will not be broken, a unity which will produce, and must produce, in the long run that irresistible pressure upon the course of the war which will carry into effect the aspirations to which they have given such magnificent utterance. I feel through every fibre of my being that at this great crisis of our history, not only is there every call upon the manhood of the nation, but we are all asked, whether old or young, rich or poor, to make sacrifices for the common cause. We are called to a task as great and noble, and as intimately connected with the progress, prosperity, and the morality of mankind, as any nation ever was in the whole long history of human effort."

MR. BALFOUR, Guildhall, September 4.

"Earl Curzon said he did not care twopence on that occasion whether he was a Conservative or anything else. For the present the whole country was putting everything in the background until it had seen this business through, be it early or be it late.

"It was the duty of every eligible young man to come to the assistance of his country, putting his personal manhood into the national pool. We were fighting because in the circumstances it would have been a national shame and dishonour to do anything but fight. They were fighting against a system, a nation, and a man. The system was believed in by the nation, and it was impressed upon the nation by the man. It was our duty to extirpate the system, to defeat the nation, and to destroy the man."

LORD CURZON, at Aberdeen, September 8.

3. IRISH.

"I greatly appreciate the action of our Volunteers in rallying so enthusiastically to my call for defenders of the Empire. To those who have not already responded to that call, and are eligible and can go, I say—Quit yourselves like men and comply with your country's demand. Enlist at once for the Ulster Division in Lord Kitchener's Army for the period of war. You were formed to defend our citizenship in the United Kingdom and the Empire, and so preserve our civil and religious liberty. Now the United Kingdom and the Empire are threatened we must fight with our fellow-Britishers until victory is assured."

SIR E. CARSON, message to Ulster, August 8.

"In past times, when this Empire has been engaged in these terrible enterprises, it is true—it would be the utmost affectation and folly on my part to deny it—the sympathy of the Nationalists of Ireland, for reasons to be found deep down in centuries of history, has been estranged from this country. But what has occurred in recent years has altered the situation. . . . To-day I honestly believe that the democracy of Ireland will turn with the utmost sympathy and anxiety to this country in every trial and every danger that may overtake it. . . . I say to the Government that they may to-day withdraw every one of their troops from Ireland. I say that the coasts of Ireland will be defended by our armed sons, and for this purpose the armed Catholics of the south will gladly join forces with the armed Protestant Ulstermen of the north."

MR. JOHN REDMOND, House of Commons,
August 3.

4. LABOUR PARTY.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress has issued a manifesto to trade unionists of the country on the war:

"The manifesto states that the Committee was especially gratified at the manner in which the Labour party in the House of Commons had responded to the appeal made to all political parties to give their co-operation in securing the enlistment of men to defend the interests of their country, and heartily endorsed the appointment upon the Parliamentary Committee of four members of the party and the placing of the services of the National Agent at the disposal of that Committee to assist in carrying through its secretarial work."

5. SOCIALIST.

"At last the British people are obliged to own that the German menace was real, and that the 'war scare' they laughed at was a danger and must now be met. We are not fighting because we want to fight, we are fighting because we must. I say *we* must fight. **It is not only the professional soldiers and sailors who must fight: we must all fight.** We must fight or go under; more than that, we must win or go under."

ROBERT BLATCHFORD, pamphlet
"Germany and England."

6. THE CHURCHES.

"I make this appeal to our Secretaries, who are, as it were, the staff officers of our movement, to do all that in them lies to make each branch a keen and effective unit in the supreme effort which Church and Nation are now called to make for the safety and honour of the Empire. The first duty of a branch is to do all it can among its own members and in the parish or neighbourhood to get young and able-bodied men to volunteer for service either in the Army or in the Territorial Forces."

Quarterly letter of the ARCHBISHOP OF
YORK, Church of England Men's Association.

"In obedience to our treaty obligations and in support of Belgium's just claim, our country had no choice but to take up the sword if honourable dealing was to have any chance of surviving in international affairs. The cynicism and the duplicity against which we are thus called to fight are worse than war, notwithstanding all

its horrors and its miseries, and for my part I trust that every Englishman will do his part in the cause of righteous dealing and to free our civilization from the maleficent and unscrupulous pride of military despotism."

BISHOP OF HEREFORD, *Times*, August 12.

"We are at war, not with the German people, but with the insane presumption and the intolerable bureaucratic arrogance of the German Imperial system. As the Prime Minister said, this war has been forced upon us. We believe we are unsheathing our swords in a just cause. We are fighting to fulfil a solemn international obligation and to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed. We shall suffer, whatever the outcome of the war. We shall endure that suffering with quiet resignation and with unswerving patience. We say, in the words of Shakespeare—

'Had I a dozen sons, each in my love alike . . . I had rather had eleven die nobly for their country than one voluptuously surfeit out of action.'"

ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE, Sunday,
August 9.

"The Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, in a letter which was read in all the churches of his diocese on Sunday, August 9, says that it is the duty of his flock as faithful Christians and loyal citizens of the great Empire to which they are proud to belong to offer prayers for the success of England and her Allies."

Times, August 11.

"It is well for England that in this day when she is bared for battle, she goes into the fight with the know-

ledge that she is striking for the noblest of all causes—for the sake of human faithfulness, for the sanctity of treaties and of trust between nations."

The *Tablet*, August 8.

7. NONCONFORMIST.

"It is nearly certain that the close will be attained only after a terrific and prolonged strife. Lord Kitchener is said to reckon the period at two or three years, and in one form or another the struggle may last even longer. We cannot be satisfied with an inadequate representation in the field. The gallant brothers who have so nobly fought our battle up till now must not fight in vain. All they have achieved and all they have suffered will come to nothing if they are not supported by continual reinforcements. We agree with the *Spectator* that 500,000 men is a very low estimate in view of the stupendous numbers of our antagonists. We can easily put in the field the number required. Five hundred thousand men would mean about 1 per cent. of the population, and there is every sign that 2 per cent. will be needed ere the war is over.

"Reasons why young men, and particularly Nonconformists, should enrol themselves :

"1. The war was thrust upon us.

"2. We went to war in order that we might be true to our sacred and solemn obligations.

"3. The German Emperor has cast out of his people the spirit of liberty.

"4. Our own life as a nation has to be fought for to the death.

"5. This is a war on behalf of the common people.

The success of Germany would be the end of democracy for many a weary year.

"6. We are fighting for our children. Are they to be born and live in tributary provinces of Germany?"

DR. ROBERTSON NICOLL in *British Weekly*,
September 3.

The Committee of Privileges of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, speaking on behalf of that body, has passed a resolution declaring its conviction that the British Government only drew the sword when plighted faith and national safety left no alternative course, that Britain's part in the war is one on which she can appeal for victory to the God of Righteousness and Peace, and that the liberties not of Britain only, but of Europe, would perish if German militarism should conquer.

It also "recognizes with satisfaction and pride the alacrity with which the young manhood of our Church has responded and is responding to the call of their country in its hour of need."

Times, September 12.

MESSAGE FROM SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

"We recognize that our Government has made most strenuous efforts to preserve peace, and has entered upon the war with a grave sense of duty to a smaller State. . . . While as a Society we stand firmly in the belief that the method of war is no solution of any question, we hold that the present moment is not one for criticism but of devoted service to our nation."

Published in *Times*, and circulated throughout the Society, August, 1914.

8. LORD ROBERTS.

"I am proud to be the first to welcome you as brother soldiers and to congratulate you on the splendid example you are setting to your fellow-countrymen, coming forward, as you have done, to take your places in the ranks as private soldiers, not seeking, as the vast majority of men in your station of life are seeking, to be given commissions as officers. We require hundreds of thousands of soldiers, and of these only a minimum number can be officers. Moreover, it is absolutely essential that officers should be trained and disciplined—sufficiently trained and disciplined to warrant their being entrusted to command and lead soldiers in war. You are the pick of the nation, highly educated, business men, men of various professions, and you are doing exactly what all able-bodied men in the kingdom should do, no matter what their rank or what their station in life may be.

"I respect and honour you more than I can say. My feeling towards you is one of intense admiration. How very different is your action to that of the men who can still go on with their cricket and football, as if the very existence of the country were not at stake! **This is not the time to play games, wholesome as they are in days of piping peace.** We are engaged in a life and death struggle, and you are showing your determination to do your duty as soldiers, and, by all means in your power, to bring this war—a war forced upon us by an ambitious and unscrupulous nation—to a successful result. God bless and watch over you all."

LORD ROBERTS to the Royal Fusiliers,
August 31.

III.

UNANIMOUS SUPPORT IN THE DOMINIONS
AND CROWN COLONIES.

ON this the Germans had not reckoned.

"You must remember that it is precisely the **British Empire** which is the **great object of attack**—not France, not Russia, not even Great Britain, but the position of hegemony which the British Empire holds, and the ideals which we stand for throughout the world."

LORD MILNER at King's College,
October 28.

"There are clear indications that the policy of the dominions, though not yet planning a separation from England, is contemplating the future prospect of doing so. Canada, South Africa, and Australia are developing, as mentioned in Chapter IV., into independent nations and States, and will, when their time comes, claim formal independence.

"The British Empire is divided from the military point of view into two divisions: into the United Kingdom itself with the Colonies governed by the English Cabinet, and the **self-governing Colonies**. These latter have at their disposal a militia, which is sometimes only in process of formation. **They can be completely ignored so far as concerns any European theatre of war.**"

VON BERNHARDI.

Instead of this being the case, enthusiastic offers of valuable help come in almost daily. Up to the present the following are the chief:

AUSTRALIA.—The Royal Australian Navy has been placed under the control of the Admiralty. This includes :

1 battle cruiser,
5 light cruisers,

and a number of gunboats and destroyers, built and building.

These have already done good service, including the capture of wireless stations in the New Bismarck archipelago and the capture of German New Guinea.

Two contingents, one of 20,000 and one of 10,000 men, have been raised.

Large gifts of men and provisions are being made by the separate states. Export of foodstuffs prohibited to any country save the United Kingdom.

"Australia will support Great Britain with her last man and her last shilling."

MR. FISHER, Prime Minister (Labour), of Australia.

CANADA.—Navy of two light cruisers and two submarines placed at disposal of Admiralty.

Contingents raised and trained of about 32,000 men, chosen from over 150,000 volunteers.

One million bags (98,000,000 pounds, valued at £800,000) of flour sent as a gift.

Patriotic funds of over £1,000,000. War loan of £10,000,000.

Many provincial and private gifts, including :

Ontario : £100,000, and 250,000 bags of flour.

Quebec : 4,000,000 pounds of cheese.

Alberta : 8,500 tons of oats.

British Columbia: 100,000 barrels of apples, and 1,200,000 pounds of salmon.

Nova Scotia : 100,000 tons of coal.

"As to our duty all are agreed, east and west, and shoulder to shoulder, with Britain and the other British Dominions in this quarrel. And that duty we shall not fail to fulfil as the honour of Canada demands. Not for love of battle, not for lust of conquest, not for greed of possessions, but for the cause of honour, to maintain solemn pledges, to uphold principles of liberty, to withstand forces that would convert the world into an armed camp, yes, in the very name of the peace that we sought at any cost, save that of dishonour, we have entered into this war."

SIR ROBERT BORDEN, Prime Minister of Canada (Conservative), in Canadian House of Commons, August 19.

"Upon this occasion we invoke the blessing of God, not the god of battles, but the God of justice and of mercy, and it is with an ample trust in Providence that we appeal to the justice of our cause. . . . Even those who on principle do not believe in war, admit that this was a just war, and that it had to be fought."

SIR WILFRID LAURIER, Leader of the Opposition (Liberal), in Canadian House of Commons, August 19.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Contributes 850 men for land service abroad, raises another 500 for home defence, and increases naval reserve from 600 to 1,000.

Also gifts of timber.

NEW ZEALAND.—The New Zealand naval force placed under the control of the Admiralty. The battle cruiser *New Zealand* of this force was prominent in the fight off Heligoland on August 29. An Expeditionary Force has captured Samoa.

Force of all arms of over 8,000 officers and men are on their way to the front, and provision has been made for drafts to keep the force at its full strength.

Naval Reserve and Garrison Artillery called out.

Large private gifts in money and provisions.

SOUTH AFRICA.—On the request of the Imperial Government, which considers this the most effective service she can render, South Africa has undertaken to defend her own territories, which have been invaded from German South-West Africa, and to push her own attack into that territory.

“There could only be one reply to the Imperial Government’s request. There were many in South Africa who did not recognize the tremendous seriousness and great possibilities of this war, and some thought that the storm did not threaten South Africa. This was a most narrow-minded conception. The Empire was at war; consequently South Africa was at war with the common enemy. Only two paths were open—the path of faithfulness to duty and honour and the path of disloyalty and dishonour. To forget their loyalty to the Empire in this hour of trial would be scandalous and shameful, and would blacken South Africa in the eyes of the whole world. Of this South Africans were incapable.

“Their duty and their conscience alike bade them be faithful and true to the Imperial Government in all

respects in this hour of darkness and trouble. That was the attitude of the Union Government; that was the attitude of the people of South Africa."

GENERAL BOTHA, Prime Minister of South Africa, in South African House of Commons, September 9.

Sir Thomas Smartt, Leader of the Opposition, said that the message which the Prime Minister by his speech had given to the Home Country would send a thrill of pride through the Empire—a thrill of pride at knowing that in the day of danger South Africa had been true to her trust and had remembered her obligations as well as her privileges of free citizenship.

[The German machinations in South Africa succeeded in inducing a small number of Dutch to revolt, but these rebels are already in retreat and confusion, and there is every sign that the common danger is uniting Dutch and British as never before.]

THE CROWN COLONIES.

BARBADOS.—£20,000.

BRITISH GUIANA.—One thousand tons of sugar.

CEYLON.—The Planters' Association provides one million pounds of tea for use of troops in the field.

FALKLAND ISLANDS.—£2,250 voted (about £1 per head of population); also £750 privately subscribed.

JAMAICA.—Sugar to value of £50,000.

LEEWARD ISLANDS.—£5,000.

MAURITIUS.—Two million pounds of sugar for Army and Navy.

RHODESIA.—A contingent for Union Defence Force.

IV.

UNANIMOUS SUPPORT OF INDIA.

ONE of the firmest convictions of Germany was that in the event of Great Britain being engaged in a European war, India would rise against the British *raj*.

The following opinions are frequently echoed in recent German political writings :

"Now that a pronounced revolutionary and nationalist tendency shows itself among the [Hindu population], the danger is imminent that Pan-Islamism, thoroughly roused, should unite itself with the revolutionary elements in Bengal."

VON BERNHARDI.

The answer to this has been given in deeds—not words.

An expeditionary force of 70,000, partly British and partly native, was at once sent, and further brigades are ready when needed.

The keynote of India's response to the news that Britain and the Empire were in danger was struck by the Maharajah of Rewa. He wrote to the Viceroy :

"What orders from His Majesty for me and my troops?"

The Rulers of the Native States, nearly seven hundred in number, have, with one accord, offered their personal services, the resources of their States, and all their troops for the war. In some cases motor-cars and personal jewellery have been offered, as a token that nothing is being withheld. A large Indian Relief Fund has been raised, and magnificent contributions made to the Prince

of Wales's Fund. A few of the more prominent contributions are as follows :

Nizam of Hyderabad, £400,000 for regiments in the field.

Maharajah of Mysore, Rs. 50 lakhs (£333,000).

Several Durbars, especially Gwalior and Bhopal, hospital ship the *Loyalty*.

Chief of Gwalior, large sums of money and a large number of horses.

Maharajah Holkar, the Nizam, Jamnagur and other Bombay States, money and horses.

Bikanir, camel corps.

The following chiefs have been selected from the many volunteers for active service :

"The Chiefs of Jodhpur, Bikanir, Kishangarh, Rutlam, Sachin, Patiala, Sir Pertab Singh, Regent of Jodhpur, the Heir-Apparent of Bhopal, and a brother of the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, together with other cadets of noble families. The veteran Sir Pertab would not be denied his right to serve the King-Emperor, in spite of his seventy years, and his nephew, the Maharajah, who is but sixteen years old, goes with him."

Statement in House of Commons, September 9.

"I doubt whether everyone in this country realizes how great a thing it is that those ruling chiefs should come forward in this way upon our side. I wonder, for example, whether every one realizes that the Maharajah of Mysore, whose munificent gift the noble Marquess referred to, rules over a population which exceeds the whole population of Sweden. I wonder whether anyone calls to mind that the Maharajah of Gwalior, the Maha-

rajah of Scindia, has more subjects than the King of Denmark. Or that the Nizam of Hyderabad governs a people twice as numerous as the people of the Netherlands, and three times as numerous as the people of Ireland. It is no small thing that those rulers, standing where they do in our Indian system, should have come forward without exception and given such practical proof of their desire to help us."

LORD LANSDOWNE, House of Lords, September 9.

Loyal messages and offers also received from Mehtar of Chitral and tribes of Khyber Agency, as well as Khyber Rifles, and from the following Leagues and Associations: The All India Moslem League, the Bengal Presidency Moslem League, the Moslem Association of Rangoon, the Trustees of the Aligarh College, the Behar Provincial Moslem League, the Central National Mohammedan Association of Calcutta, the Khoja Community and other followers of Aga Khan, the Punjab Moslem League, Mohammedans of Eastern Bengal, citizens of Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon, and many other cities, Behar Landholders' Association, Madras Provincial Congress, Taluqdars of Oudh, Punjab Chiefs' Association, United Provinces Provincial Congress, Hindus of the Punjab, Chief Khalsa Diwan representing orthodox Sikhs, Bohra Community of Bombay, Parsee Community of Bombay.

Letters have been received from the most remote States in India, all marked by deep sincerity of desire to render some assistance, however humble, to the British Government in its hour of need.

Statement in House of Commons, September 9.

"The Aga Khan, who was making a tour among his Ismailia followers in Africa when the war broke out, has arrived from South Africa. He telegraphed from Zanzibar to his adherents in India, the Persian Gulf, on the Indian borderland, in Burma, the Straits Settlements, and throughout Africa, directing them to place themselves and their resources unreservedly at the disposal of the local British authorities, and to be prepared for any duty that might be assigned to them.

"In Zanzibar, under his direction, the Ismailias organized a transit corps of motor-cars and motor and ordinary cycles. His Highness has led the way for his followers by offering to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India his resources and personal service. Two of his near relatives have been commissioned from the Imperial Cadet Corps, but as no such facility existed in his youth for the military training of Indians of position, he has intimated his readiness to serve in any infantry regiment as an ordinary private."

Times, September 14.

Last, but not least, from beyond the borders of India have been received generous offers of assistance from the Nepal Durbar; the military resources of the State have been placed at the disposal of the British Government, and the Prime Minister has offered a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs to the Viceroy for the purchase of machine-guns or field equipment for British Gurkha Regiments proceeding over seas, in addition to large donations from his private purse to the Prince of Wales's Fund and the Imperial Indian Relief Fund.

To the 4th Gurkha Rifles, of which the Prime Minister

is Honorary Colonel, the Prime Minister has offered Rs. 30,000 for the purchase of machine-guns in the event of their going on service. The Dalai Lama of Tibet has offered 1,000 Tibetan troops for service under the British Government. His Holiness also states that Lamas innumerable, throughout the length and breadth of Tibet, are offering prayers for success of the British Army, and for the happiness of the souls of all victims of war.

The same spirit has prevailed throughout British India. Hundreds of telegrams and letters received by the Viceroy expressing loyalty and desire to serve Government either in the field or by co-operation in India. Many hundreds also received by local administrations.

These offers of help and sympathy come from all classes and all creeds, and demonstrate that, for the first time in history, the great continent of India, with its many races and religions, is **united in a single aim**. That aim is to show their devotion to the King-Emperor, and their desire to remain part of the great Empire of which he is Head.

The manœuvres of Germany to secure, through influence in Turkey, a channel through which she could inflame the Moslem world have been discounted by these practical demonstrations of the loyalty of the Mohammedans of the British Empire.

V.

OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES.

GERMANY naturally attaches great importance to securing the sympathy of the United States. Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, has

been unwearied in his attempts to influence the Press, and to circulate news said to be received from Germany by wireless.

German societies in various large towns have appointed committees **"to visit and warn Anglo-American newspapers."**

An appeal addressed to the American nation by the German Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, reached New York by mail, it having been sent in this manner in order to evade the censors in London.

"The Emperor authorizes me," writes the Chancellor, "to declare that he has complete confidence in the justice of the American people, who will not permit themselves to be hoodwinked by the campaign of lies which our foes are waging. We shall win this monster war, thanks to the great moral momentum which a just cause has given to our armies."

Central News.

"The arguments employed do not appeal to the American mind. With every desire to be fair to all sides the overwhelming majority of editorial writers are able to see in the war only 'a cataclysm' provoked by German militarism with the object of making Germany the predominant Power in Europe. When Professor Münsterberg and others denounce Britain as 'a traitor to the Teutonic race' because she sides with Russia, Americans recall the fact that until recent years Germany's great ambition was a Russo-German alliance against France and England."

Times own Correspondent, New York
August 13.

"After forty-five years of peace, Germany breaks its record and plunges into war which not one of its defenders can fairly justify. It is criminal aggression and nothing else which led Germany to turn about, violate the neutrality of Belgium, and force its way into France. The campaign was clearly planned before the ultimatum was issued to Russia. The Kaiser will go down into history as the most patient War Lord that ever lived. He waited and waited, and then selected the most inopportune and most unjustifiable occasion to plunge his country into war. The world is on the brink of universal disaster. A madman in Europe moves and disturbs the 'balance of power.'"

American Hebrew, of New York (leading Jewish paper).

The *World*, referring to the last interview of the British Ambassador and the German Chancellor [see Section I. (c)], recalls the fact that Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, are also scraps of paper :

"The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty is a scrap of paper, and one of the most brilliant moral victories won by President Wilson is the Act of Congress which voluntarily repealed the violation of the terms of that scrap of paper. **Respect for these scraps of paper measures a nation's honour no less than its freedom.** Our democracy itself is only a scrap of paper, but it looses forces no autocrat can stay. The German army is the most wonderful military machine ever constructed by the hand and brain of man, but in the final reckoning of

history this 'scrap of paper' will prove more powerful than all the Kaiser's legions."

World, New York, August 29.

"History will hold the German Emperor responsible for the war in Europe. Austria would never have made her indefensible attack on Serbia if she had not been assured beforehand of the support of Germany. The German Emperor's consent to co-operate with England in mediation would have put a stop to Austria's advance. To doubt that Germany and Austria have been in practical alliance in this act of brigandage—for it deserves no other name—is to shut one's eyes to all the signs."

Outlook, New York, August 13.

It would be a serious mistake to suppose that Americans feel any hostility or jealousy towards Germany, or fail to recognize the immense obligations under which she has placed all the rest of the world, although they now feel that the German nation has been going wrong in theoretical and practical politics for more than a hundred years, and to-day is reaping the consequences of her own wrong-thinking and wrong-doing.

PROFESSOR ELIOT, ex-President of Harvard University, the foremost figure in the University world, and one of the most respected men in the United States.

"The aggressive insolence of Austria-Hungary's ultimatum to Serbia, taken with the concession by the latter of all the demands except those which were too humiliating for their national self-respect, indicate that the real cause of the war is other than that set forth by the ultimatum. Knowing from past experience how the

matter must be viewed by Russia, it is incredible that Austria would have ventured on the ultimatum unless she was assured beforehand of the consent of Germany to it. The inference is irresistible that the substance of the ultimatum was the pretext for a war already determined on as soon as a plausible occasion offered. The cause of this predetermination is to be found in the growing strength of Russia on recovering from her war with Japan, together with the known deficiencies of the French armaments, which were recently admitted. The moment was auspicious for striking down France and Russia before they regained their full strength."

Admiral MAHAN (the foremost writer on naval strategy in the United States).

That Germany is not satisfied with her American Press campaign appears from the following extract :

"After Germany has for so many years endeavoured to dispose of these grotesque mistakes, and after German policy during a decade and a half has been in itself a refutation *par excellence*, it seems to be beneath our dignity to go on appearing before the United States in the attitude of one who thinks that he must justify himself. We are far from misunderstanding or underestimating the goodwill of Count Bernstorff and Herr Dernburg. We ask ourselves, however, what is the sense of it all, and whether there is not a point at which we, in our position, attacked on all sides, should regard it as a duty of self-esteem to adopt the attitude that, if people do not believe our words and deeds, we will refrain from perpetual repetition of our words. When a man like Roosevelt, whose importance as a statesman

we never rated too high, but who has been in Germany, and knows many prominent Germans, can talk of 'Bernhardismus' in Germany, the success of the German effort 'to shed light' seems to be of a very problematical nature."

COUNT REVENTLOW, *Deutsches Tageszeitung*, October, 1914.

VI.

VARIOUS QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ASKED, AND ANSWERS TO THEM.

(a) *Could we have stopped the war?*

No. On July 23 Austria presented to Servia an ultimatum making demands to accept which would have been national suicide. Of this ultimatum the German Government must have known and approved. Austria declared that unless it was accepted verbatim within forty-eight hours war would follow. Servia made a humble reply, accepting nearly all the demands and offering to submit the other points to the Hague Tribunal. This offer Austria insultingly rejected. In view of the international agreements and treaties which were known to exist, Austria knew that her attack on Servia would bring Russia to Servia's aid, that Germany was bound in that event to help Austria, and France bound in that event to help Russia.

Sir Edward Grey made offer after offer for peace. In most of them France, Russia, and Italy concurred; all of them Germany refused.

(b) Could we have kept out of the war?

Only by being false to our plighted word to France and to Belgium.

Only by being false to our future, and seeing the territories of France and Belgium, with their fine harbours, in the hands of a strong and unscrupulous enemy.

Only by being false to humanity.

"For my part, I say that sooner than be a silent witness, which means in effect a willing accomplice of this tragic triumph of force over law and of brutality over freedom, I would see this country of ours blotted out of the page of history."

Mr. ASQUITH, at Guildhall.

For a fuller answer to this question see Section I.: "Why We are at War."

(c) Have we not done enough?

It is estimated that Germany can put 5,500,000 men in the field, her male population being 32,000,000. This means that she calls up one in six of her males of all ages. France, out of a male population of 20,000,000, manages to put some 4,000,000 into the field, or one in every five males. Our forces are made up as follows:

Regular Army, with Reserves	...	400,000
Territorials	... ..	600,000
The New Army (nearly completed)	...	1,000,000
The Navy and Reserves	... ..	200,000
<hr/>		
Total	... ..	2,200,000

Our male population is 21,000,000, so we have called up one in ten.

The Oversea Dominions are sending us reinforcements, and will increase the numbers as needed.

We do not know how many will be needed, but surely we can do as much for our Empire as France is doing for hers?

"The very serious conflict in which we are now engaged on the Continent has been none of our seeking. It will undoubtedly strain the resources of our Empire, and entail considerable sacrifices on our people. These will be willingly borne for our honour and the preservation of our position in the world, and will be shared by our Dominions beyond the seas, now sending contingents and assistance of every kind to help the Mother Country in this struggle.

"While other countries engaged in this war have, under a system of compulsory service, brought their full resources of men into the field, we, under our national system, have not done so, **and can therefore still point to a vast reserve drawn from the resources both of the Mother Country and of the British Dominions across the seas.** The response which has already been made by the great Dominions abundantly proves that we did not look in vain to these sources of military strength, and while India, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, are all sending us powerful contingents, in this country the Territorials are replying with loyalty to the stern call of duty which has come to them with such exceptional force. Sixty-nine battalions have, with fine patriotism, already volunteered for service abroad, and when trained and organized in the larger formations will be able to take their places in the line.

"The Empires with whom we are at war have called to the colours almost their entire male population. The

principles we on our part shall observe is this, that while their maximum force undergoes a constant diminution, the reinforcements we prepare shall steadily and increasingly flow out until we have an Army in the field which in numbers not less than in quality, will not be unworthy of the power and responsibilities of the British Empire. **I cannot at this stage say what will be the limits of the forces required, or what measures may eventually become necessary to supply and maintain them.** The scale of the Field Army which we are now calling into being is large, and may rise in the course of the next six or seven months to a **total of thirty divisions continually maintained in the field.** But if the war should be protracted, and if its fortunes should be varied or adverse, exertions and sacrifices beyond any which have been demanded will be required from the whole nation and Empire, and where they are required we are sure they will not be denied to the extreme needs of the State by Parliament or the people."

LORD KITCHENER, House of Lords,
August 25.

(d) Is not the fleet enough?

The fleet is protecting the shores and the trade-routes of the Empire, and every heart should thrill at the way in which it is justifying our trust. Compare the almost complete security of our own over-sea trade with the absolute annihilation of that of Germany.

But the fleet alone cannot—

Save Europe from the curse of German militarism.

Save us from the danger to ourselves from a continent so dominated.

Give us an adequate voice in the reconstruction of Europe when peace comes to be made.

Note the following opinion of the great American naval expert :

" If Germany succeeds in ' downing ' both France and Russia, she gains a respite by land, which may enable her to build up her sea force until it is equal or superior to that of Great Britain. In that case the world will be confronted by the naval power of a State not, like Great Britain, sated with territory, but one eager and ambitious for expansion, and eager also for influence. This consideration may well affect American sympathies."

ADMIRAL MAHAN, *Times*, August 5.

(e) *Was not the War forced on by Russia ?*

No. Russia to the end was willing to make peace on the basis of Servia's moderate, and even humble, reply to Austria (for which see Section I.).

See also the following extracts from telegrams of British Ambassador at Petrograd (St. Petersburg) to Sir Edward Grey :

" The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that if Servia should appeal to the Powers [as she did], Russia would be quite ready to stand aside, and leave the question in the hands of England, France, Germany, and Italy " (July 25).

" His Excellency said that he would agree to anything arranged by the four Powers, provided it was acceptable to Servia " (July 29).

"German Ambassador appealed to M. Sazonoff (Russian Foreign Minister) to make some suggestion which he could telegraph to German Government as a last hope. M. Sazonoff accordingly drew up and handed to German Ambassador a formula in French, of which following is translation :

" ' If Austria, recognizing that her conflict with Servia has assumed character of question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate principle of sovereignty of Servia, Russia engages to stop all military preparations ' " (July 30).

On August 1 King George sent a personal telegram to the Tsar : the following was the reply :

" I would gladly have accepted your proposals had not German Ambassador this afternoon presented a note to my Government declaring war."

(f) Are we not fighting for the barbarism of Servia and Russia against the culture of Germany ?

No. Servia is fighting because Germany used the quarrel between Austria and Servia as a pretext for provoking war, in the hope that Great Britain would think herself unconcerned.

Russia was dragged in because she had obligations to Servia, and could not see her crushed any more than we could see Belgium crushed.

The "barbarism" of the land of Tolstoi may well stand comparison with the "culture" of the land of Nietzsche and Von Bernhardi, of the land which has sacked Malines and Louvain, and then, through its

Emperor, declared such action "necessary though regrettable."

(g) *Have we not called in heathen Japan against Christian Germany?*

Long before the war we had a Treaty with Japan, the terms of which are known to the whole world. Japan has solely come in to restore to China the port of Kiaochau, unscrupulously and piratically filched by Germany.

The Japanese ultimatum of August 16 made clear that it made on Germany two demands only :

1. To withdraw immediately from Japanese and Chinese waters the German men-of-war and armed vessels of all kinds, and to disarm at once those which cannot be withdrawn.

2. To deliver on a date not later than September 15 to the Imperial Japanese authorities, without condition or compensation, the entire leased territory of Kiaochau with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China.

SIR CLAUDE M. MACDONALD writes to the *Times* :

"In a recent issue of your paper you printed an appeal made by German theologians to 'Evangelical Christians abroad' together with the dignified, reasoned, and conclusive reply made by British theologians to the same. The German theologians in their appeal state as follows: 'Into the war which the Tsar has openly proclaimed as the decisive campaign against Teutonism and Protestantism heathen Japan is now also called under the pretext of an alliance.'

"It was my privilege to be British Representative at the Court of Tokyo from the commencement of the

negotiations which preceded the war between Japan and Russia until peace was signed; incidentally, also, it was my great privilege to be an instrument, though a very humble one, in the making of the alliance alluded to by the German theologians. May I therefore venture to state as follows? The whole world knows with what splendid valour our allies fought, but it is not known as generally as I think it ought to be how straightforward, honest, and dignified, and how loyal to us, was the conduct of these negotiations; it is not generally known how appreciative of the stubborn valour of their opponents, how courteous and chivalrous to them in defeat, how cheery and patient in their own sufferings, were the 'heathen' Japanese. It is not known, perhaps, as I know it, that fullest information regarding wounded Russians in the hospitals of Japan, for transmission to their friends, was immediately obtainable, the nature and gravity of the wounds, and in some cases even the temperature of the patient, being telegraphed! The present Viceroy of India, then Ambassador at St. Petersburg, can bear me out as to this.

"I venture, therefore, to think that some Christian nations, not forgetting Germany, have much to learn of the Christian virtues of chivalry, courtesy, and honesty from heathen Japan."

(h) Should we be any worse off if Germany won?

We should each one of us be worse off in soul and in body. The patriot would be humiliated; even the internationalist would lose by the curtailing of freedom of speech, of public meeting, and of the Press. *E.g.*, Roald Amundsen, the great Polar explorer, was in 1913 for-

bidden to lecture in Norwegian in Schleswig-Holstein because that language closely resembled Danish, the native tongue of the people before they were conquered by Germany.

"Six years ago I was in Berlin for a peace meeting. The President had hardly said half a dozen sentences when the military came and dispersed the meeting. Would you like to have that in England? Therefore when I am asked what we are fighting for, my answer again and again is liberty—liberty and home."

MR. WILL CROOKS, M.P., London Opera House, September 10.

In Brussels, as soon as occupied by the Germans, the newspapers were forced to appear in that language only. The civilian would be put under the heel of the drill-sergeant. What that means we may learn from the story of Zabern in 1913.

Zabern is a garrison town in Alsace, where the smouldering ill-feeling between the conquered French and the ruling Germans was fanned by the arrogance of the military garrison. One of these (who belonged to the Junker, or minor Prussian nobility class) named Lieutenant Forstner, was reported by some of the Alsatian recruits to have stated that if they (the recruits) stabbed a *Wackes* who insulted them, no punishment, but a reward, would be given. The name *Wackes* is a half-contemptuous local term for "Alsatian." The result of this was to incense the civilian population, and as the result of an incident in which the pupils of a school jeered at a party of officers, the Colonel of the regiment, Von Reuter, called out sixty men with loaded rifles and

ordered them to arrest every civilian who did not retire. About sixty were arrested, including the Judge and Counsel of the civil court, who had just risen, and were imprisoned all night. Lieutenant Forstner wounded with his sword a lame cobbler whose wife jeered at him. In Metz a man and his wife were imprisoned because the latter jeered at a passing patrol. This was the subject of interpellations in the Reichstag, and a vote of censure on the Chancellor was passed; but the Prussian War Minister justified the conduct of the officer. The vote of censure was not regarded by the Government, and though the regiment was moved from Zabern, no real punishment was meted out to the officers concerned, and the Crown Prince sent a sympathetic letter to the Colonel.

Some idea of German militarism in practice can be gained from the conduct of the Governor of a conquered commune of Belgium. The following was part of a proclamation, issued to the inhabitants of Grivegnée, near Liège:

"IMPORTANT NOTICE.

"*Commune of Grivegnée.*

"Major Dieckmann gives notice to the persons present that—

"(1) Before 6 p.m. on the afternoon of September 6, 1914, all arms, munitions, explosives, and fireworks still in possession of the citizens shall be given in at the Château des Bruyères. Whoever does not do this will be liable to the penalty of death. He will be shot on the spot, or executed, unless he can prove that he was not to blame.

* * * * *

"(3) The Commandant must not meet any difficulties when domiciliary visits are made. All rooms must be thrown open on the summons. All opposition will be severely punished.

* * * * *

"(8) I require that all civilians moving about in my sphere of command, and especially those of Beyne, Hensay, Bois de Breux, and Grivegnée, shall show respect to German officers by taking off their hats, and bringing their hands to their heads in a military salute. In case of doubt whether an officer is in question, *any* German soldier should be saluted. Anyone failing in this must expect a German soldier to exact respect from him by any method.

"(9) German soldiers may search carts, bundles, etc., belonging to the inhabitants of the district. All disobedience will be severely punished.

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"(14) Anyone who circulates false news which might injure the *moral* of the German troops, and also anyone who in any way tries to take measures injurious to the German Army, is held suspect, and may be shot on the spot.

"(15) While by the above directions the inhabitants of the region round Fort B.III. are menaced with severe penalties if they break these rules in any manner, these same inhabitants may, if they conduct themselves peaceably, count on benevolent protection and succour on all occasions when they may be wronged.

"(16) A requisition for a fixed quantity of cattle will be made daily between 10 and 12 and 2 and 3 at the Château des Bruyères at the office of the cattle-commission.

"(17) Anyone who under the ægis of the emblem of the Swiss Convention (*i.e.*, the Red Cross !) harms or tries to harm the German Army will be hung on discovery.

"(Signed) DIECKMANN, Major-Commandant.

"(Correct Copy—VICTOR HODEIGE, Burgomaster.)

"Grivegnée, September 8, 1914." (Communicated by Official Press Bureau.)

GERMAN VIEWS OF BRITISH SOLDIERS.

"Enlistments for the new English Army of 500,000 men which Kitchener has undertaken to set on its legs are slow to come. Up to September 5 only about 250,000 mercenaries had come in, according to English official reports, and Ministers and other well-known Members of Parliament have had to whip up recruits by holding public meetings. The text of the speeches is: Prussian militarism to be exterminated.

"It is natural enough that Prussian militarism should get on to the nerves of Englishmen, and especially of the Right Hon. Grey and Co.—that Prussian militarism which has swept like a hurricane over the Allied Armies, so that of the English Expeditionary Force already barely half survives. But what do the English shopkeepers, who buy their mercenaries to protect their money-bags, know of German militarism? What idea can these island people, who look down upon a soldier as the most despicable creature on earth, have of the sacrifices of the nation which, in the struggle for existence, has been forced by the jealousy of its neighbours to become a nation of soldiers? We have nothing but contempt for these English talkers and politicians who venture to lay their dirty fingers on our ideals. Let them study our

casualty lists. Princes and workmen, Counts and peasants, Catholics and Protestants and Jews, Socialists and Conservatives, all dying for the common Fatherland. You are not playing for the same stakes, you gentlemen of England! You have no right to speak until you put into the field the flower of your people, and not the scum of your population."

Article on British and German Militarism, September 8, *Cologne Gazette* (chief semi-official organ of the German Foreign Office).

[It may be noted that the German Army officers and non-commissioned officers are "mercenaries" in the same sense as the British regular forces—*i.e.*, they adopt arms as their profession, and make their living by it.]

"It is my Royal and Imperial command that you concentrate your energies, for the immediate present, upon one single purpose, and that is that you address all your skill and all the valour of my soldiers to exterminate first the treacherous English and to walk over General French's contemptible little army."

The KAISER to his troops, Aix-la-Chapelle, August 19.

WHY WE MUST FIGHT TO A FINISH.

There are people who are already saying that we must make terms with Germany as soon as possible, and not impose on her too hard conditions. But it is only by the most rigorous terms that we can secure—

(1) The compensation of Belgium for her sufferings and losses. We were not able to save Belgium or even to protect one Belgian village; the least we can do is to avenge her.

(2) We cannot permit the Prussian domination of Germany to continue. It has always been founded on "blood and iron" (Bismarck's phrase). If the Kaiser saves anything out of the wreck of the war, he and his dynasty will perpetuate the domination of Prussia.

(3) We must vindicate our own character as a fighting race, and show the whole world, not Germany alone, that **the British Empire is a factor to be reckoned with on land as well as at sea.** The recognition of this will go far to secure peace throughout the world.

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